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ernment has gone down, too weak to withstand the strain of domestic convulsion or foreign assault, the Constitution of the United States has remained in undiminished strength. Is not that a record which should make an American proud? And what is the rank of the statesman who did more than any one else to bring about the framing of that document, who did more than any one else to frame it, who did more than any one else to put it in operation? I repeat what I said at the beginning of my remarks: James Madison was the greatest constructive statesman our country has produced.

THE PSYCHOLOGICAL SURGERY FOR WAR

By RALPH H. BEVAN

Mr. Bevan, an attorney, after graduating from Brown University, completed his course at Oxford as a Rhodes scholar.—THE EDITORS.

IN THE *Atlantic* (September, 1919) appeared a notable article by Sir George R. Parkin, then "Organizing Secretary of the Rhodes Trust." This emphasized the opportunities of the Rhodes Scholarships for Americans, as well as their international significance as a guarantee of peace. The powerful appeal for the keen competition necessary to send to Oxford America's best, and to fulfill the scholarships' purpose, concluded with the suggestion that a similar foundation, established by an American seer of means, for promising young Englishmen, would be a great service to the cause of international good will. None familiar with the liberalizing and humanizing influence of cosmopolitan education could doubt its value, as a training for prospective national leaders, to insure the friendship of the powers concerned. But why should an institution which, if made reciprocal between the United States and the British Empire, would be so much more valuable, not rather be extended to *all* the leading nations, in order to constitute the surest protection against war? Or why should the world's paramount concerns rest upon a foundation so precarious as the chance vision of millionaires? Why should not reciprocal national universities for international education of world leaders, being an insurance of peace as inexpensive, reliable, and beneficent as billion-dollar armaments are extravagant, treacherous, and calamitous, be eagerly financed by all enlightened governments? These, as representatives of their peoples to promote the latter's supreme interests, are primarily concerned and would be but acting in performance of their most fundamental function.

If the Rhodes Scholarships have left in doubt the splendid promise of cosmopolitan education for international statesmen as the best key to permanent peace, the reasons are plain. Rhodes' idea, first, contemplated but a fragment of a complete system. It includes only two of the great powers. Secondly, from its nature, Rhodes' scheme cannot begin to exercise its potential influence for many years to come. Once apparent, however, its power for peace must ever increase as a cumulative effect. Thirdly, the significance of the Rhodes Scholarships as an institution to prevent war by promoting understanding between the two great branches of

the Anglo-Saxon race has been little appreciated. Consequently they have not attracted, as was intended, those Americans most likely to rise into national prominence; hence they have fallen short of their purpose. If they had not, they must by now have begun to demonstrate that such an institution, perfected, would prove by far the cheapest and surest guarantee of peace. International universities to liberalize and humanize prospective world leaders must mean co-operation among the nations and an era of unequaled progress in the average welfare—the democratic ideal.

Cecil Rhodes' plan was to guarantee peace by affording the future statesmen of the British Empire and the United States an opportunity to develop understanding and friendship. Although, however, international education as here urged is merely a development of the Rhodes Scholarships, it is so radical a one as to amount to a different scheme. Having the prestige and financial resources of governmental backing, it would remedy the fundamental defects of Rhodes' plan in practical operation. It would be of a nature to interest, as well as provide an effectual machinery for selecting, those young men with the best prospects of international influence, and through whom alone, as their future rulers, nations as such can cultivate affection. The supreme honor and opportunities of scholarships offered by peoples to train their future statesmen would attract, and commissions of college presidents might elect, the ablest youths.

International education should also include not two only, but all of the great nations within its scope. Thus perfected, it would be an institution whereby *prospective leaders* of *every* great nation, through sojourns in cosmopolitan centers of culture, such as Oxford University, would become world citizens, with a sympathetic interest in the welfare of all peoples and classes.

Details are immaterial. The vital thing is some plan whereby eligibility for the awful responsibilities of international statesmanship shall necessarily or usually involve effectual education in international sympathy and world patriotism. Any such logical perfecting of Rhodes' idea constitutes, on the soundest ethical and psychological principles, the most promising insurance against war. If for example, each great power should reciprocally endow one or more universities with scholarships, under which it could receive from all the other great nations young men efficiently selected by the latter for their chances of attaining national influence, to train these youths in cosmopolitan culture and friendship, the careers of some of these future world statesmen would soon demonstrate the value of such education as a qualification for international leadership. Thus world statesmen would naturally come usually to be chosen only from among graduates of such a cosmopolitan educational institution. These national universities, then, endowed by their respective governments for the benefit of any nations ready to reciprocate, would constitute international education in its most effectual form—the incomparably inexpensive and dependable security against war.

Whether or not Rhodes' scheme becomes supplementary to a complete project, the cause of peace must be advanced by stimulating Americans, with prospects of national influence, to compete for the Rhodes Scholar-

ships. A recent statement of the Rhodes Trust permits future candidates in the United States to qualify for election on their college standing rather than by examination. On June 17, 1919, convocation passed the momentous statute removing the bugbear of Greek and at last rendering it optional as an entrance requirement, at least so far as most American Rhodes Scholars are concerned. Since then, study of the Greek language has been made a matter of choice for all candidates for admission to Oxford.

Startling details of Oxford's modernization have long been appearing, and are likely to appear, with each issue of the *American Oxonian*, the publication of the American Rhodes Scholars, edited by Prof. Frank Aydelotte, American Secretary to the Rhodes trustees. Formal application blanks can be had by addressing Professor Aydelotte, M. I. T., Cambridge, Mass., and the *American Oxonian* (which should be soon, if it is not already, available at all public, college, and preparatory school libraries) will be found invaluable, not only to all prospective candidates for the Rhodes Scholarship, but to all progressive educators and others interested in international education and co-operation.

Above all, the attention should be called to Oxford's new Ph. D. degree. During the war she decided to grant this, especially for the benefit of Americans. Thus she hoped to divert to English centers of culture the stream hitherto flowing to German universities. This degree (discussed in the *American Oxonian* for January and April, 1918, and for April, 1919 and 1920) will greatly enhance the personal advantages of the Rhodes Scholarships. The emphasis is laid, however, on the unique value of these scholarships as preparations for international usefulness.

Insurance of peace is the problem of replacing moral ignorance and selfishness with national and class moral wisdom and generosity. Various as are the causes of war, as alleged by different writers, we venture to sum them up in a common root—*selfishness*.

The ease with which the origins of war can be resolved into selfishness or moral ignorance will appear from an illustration in the case of one of its most insidious causes. This is a metaphysical fancy. Whereas common sense tells us that society is a mere organization of individuals, that far-fetched theory declares it an organism with an existence distinct from the individuals composing it. This social self is the individual's true self. His true, real, social self can best be saved by sacrificing his illusional individual self for society. The hypothetical social welfare is all-important. The average welfare, practically so vital for each of us, is nothing.

War is our grand opportunity to perfect our real selves wholesale by sacrificing our apparent individual selves for the mythical national good. This is hardly that substantial foundation on which alone should be founded an obligation of human beings by millions to give up lives, for all we know, infinitely important to themselves and dear ones. Rather a questionable basis, this, on which to ask tens of millions to become widowed, orphaned, mutilated, and crippled wrecks of happiness! For all practical purposes, our seeming eternities of sleepless anguish are far more real than all the speculations of the philosophers!

Some ingenious doctrine by which alone the aristocracy or majority could induce individuals to sacrifice life, and vastly more, to gratify the plutocrats' or nation's passion for power, or at least to save the nation a lesser sacrifice, has been a necessary support of every war. Glorification of a complete loss to the individual to avoid a loss less than total for the majority may involve an element of social selfishness. At any rate, if nations *universally* recognized the questionable origin of such praise, they could not demand millions of total sacrifices to save themselves a lesser one. By that alone would war become impossible.

No mystical insight is required to see that every individual, class, and nation can be happiest by learning to find satisfaction in co-operation. Thereby it increases its own capacities for enjoyment and, by the influence of example, leads others to generous habits beneficial to itself as well as to all. Until, however, magnanimity becomes universal, there will be conspicuous instances of altruists victimized by unscrupulous egoists, which will discredit the moral wisdom of virtue. Yet it is the unusual which attracts our attention. The very emphasis laid on such cases shows how strikingly exceptional they are. It will only be necessary for all the great powers to give national generosity as fair a trial as national selfishness has had, to demonstrate that, as a policy, international co-operation is as advantageous for all as war is calamitous.

The conquest of egoism has proved painful and slow in proportion to its dazzling promise for future generations. For thousands of years happiness has increased with moral progress, as self-interest has become enlightened and duly tempered with unselfishness, in the case of individuals. Yet the tribulations of this war were necessary to teach the world that national greed is as many times more stupid than individual greed as organized millions are more capable of doing harm than short-sighted individuals.

The keys to permanent peace are already given to us in miniature. It remains only to fashion them after models so ready at hand that we have overlooked them in the search for formidable expedients better corresponding to the evil to be remedied. These patterns for the keys to peace are those institutions which maintain order within States.

Open war between individuals has been abolished. Secret war between nations is impossible. International institutions, then, equivalent to those which keep the peace within States, may reasonably be depended on to put an end to all war between nations. Between individuals order reigns, partly because of the courts and police, to be sure, but principally because of the public sentiment standing back of these. Without conventional morality the machinery of the law would be useless. The keys to permanent peace, therefore, are an international counterpart for the means by which prevalent moral standards are developed, to create an international moral sentiment, and, to reinforce this, an international tribunal and possibly some day an international police force.

Within States the peace is maintained less by the courts and police than by the public sentiment behind them. The methods whereby for ages this has been built

up furnish us the tested key to an effectual international morality and sentiment, which is the only proved guarantee of peace between nations. The chief agencies by which the selfishness of individuals has been converted into enlightened self-interest and generosity are three:

First, there is the most expensive school of experience. Here lessons in the retaliatory miseries of conflict are necessary to impart the beginnings of moral wisdom. Without these thus earned, less painful instruction is usually futile.

Secondly, there are the schools of society and of family discipline. These teach the experience of the race as to the evils of selfishness and the far-sightedness of magnanimity. Thus do they accomplish the individual's complementary education in *moral wisdom*. Thereby he comes to *see*, as a matter of intelligent perception, that his own, as well as the average, welfare is to be furthest advanced by co-operation. But moral wisdom alone is often unable to control the passions. Unselfishness can be insured only by replacing egoistic with altruistic impulses.

Thirdly, then, the substitution of generosity for selfishness is brought about by intimate communion of family relatives and friends. By this, as the psychologists would put it, the personality of each is enlarged. He grows to include the others whom he can no more injure than himself. Sociability develops friendship and *moral sentiment*. Thereby the conversion of selfishness into magnanimity is completed. The individual has come to *feel*, as a matter of generous emotion, that the welfare of relatives and friends, and ultimately of all human beings, is a vital part of his own happiness. Co-operation is now not only expedient, but spontaneous and pleasurable.

The beginnings of international moral wisdom have been acquired in the hard school of experience. The nations have received a climactic lesson in the colossal stupidity of war. To guarantee lasting peace, then, it remains only, while the world's peoples are still chastened and docile in spirit, to give them complementary training in moral insight and sentiment. Cosmopolitan universities to educate the nations, in the persons of their leaders, in enlightened self-interest and to promote international sociability—these are the psychological surgery for war.

World-wide and all-pervasive education in true patriotism—not in suicidal nationalism, but in beneficent internationalism—might at first sight seem more promising than the institution here advocated. When, however, the difficulty of combining thoroughness with universality is considered, the danger of losing more in depth than is gained in breadth becomes apparent; and when, in addition, it is remembered that wars have been made by rulers and jingoes rather than by peoples, the incomparable importance of concentrating effort where it will count most is self-evident.

With effectual training applied to nations' representatives, education of peoples will be less imperative. Even jingoism will be harmless. Without such thorough training where it is most needed, general education in world patriotism would be insufficient. The inferior claims of universal training in national generosity become doubly clear when it is reflected that peoples as a

whole cannot become intimate, nor can nations form strong friendships except through their future statesmen in such universities as are proposed. Despite all this, nevertheless, the very great value of world-wide education in far-sighted patriotism, as a supplementary aid to peace, is too obvious to need emphasis. Similarly, international reciprocity in education, not for national representatives, but in general, although it can cultivate friendship only between inconsiderable, and not necessarily influential, portions of the world's peoples, is to be heartily welcomed as an auxiliary to the expedient urged.

In estimating the value of the institution championed, it is to be borne in mind that probable class as well as international leaders are to be found among prospective national statesmen. Incidentally, cosmopolitan universities would guarantee inter-class as well as international co-operation.

For the world's nations and the nations' classes, international education for world leaders, amounting to complementary education in moral wisdom and cultivation of friendship, long successful among individuals, is the most promising resource to clinch the cure of selfishness begun by the war's anguish.

The cosmopolitan centers of culture advocated would, of course, include instruction in the terrible lessons of this war and in sound moral philosophy. They should teach the benefits of harmony between races, having the powers of organized millions for evil and for good. In a word, they must inculcate in all nations and classes, in the persons of their rulers, *moral wisdom*, whereby they may *see* the essential identity of all human interests.

International universities, furthermore, would most efficiently create the moral *sentiment* of spontaneous unselfishness, whereby nations may irresistibly *feel*, as well as perceive, that all others' interests are a vital part of their own interests. International education would be family communion to cultivate affection in the family of nations. As at Oxford, the social life would be very vigorous.

Wars are due to antipathy or prejudice—that is, to ignorance. As nations, through their leaders, became acquainted, mutual knowledge would bring understanding—a capacity to put themselves in each others' places. Unreasonable quarrels would become impossible. Intimate communion in the family of nations (for each would learn its own faults and the others' virtues) must mean mutual appreciation, friendship, sympathy, and identification of interest, making co-operation a joy.

This guarantee of peace is far from mere experiment. It is founded in sound psychology. Its efficacy has been demonstrated in the experience of all Rhodes Scholars. Above all, it has stood the unanswerable test of actual trial. In family and friendly communion, its counterpart as between individuals, it has for centuries proved a protection from the ills of selfishness immeasurably more effective than armed force. The case for the expedient urged rests on its established efficiency in practice as well as on psychological principles. The resource urged is but an application to the sphere of international relationships of a remedy for ages familiar even to the most ignorant as the surest guarantee of co-operation between individuals.

To clinch the victory for democracy; to contrast and replace the defects of each nation with the excellencies of the others, thus perfecting all national characters; to round the education in enlightened self-interest begun by the war; to develop national and class generosity, and thereby to unite all classes and peoples into one co-operating family, billion-dollar armaments are as fraught with peril as the institution proposed is full of promise. Re-enforced by international arbitration and public opinion, international education for world statesmen insures the only benefits at all comparable with the infinite evil of the war—a golden era of international good will and individual welfare.

AMERICAN GROUP OF THE INTER-PARLIAMENTARY UNION

THE REGULAR annual meeting of the American Group of the Interparliamentary Union was held in the Caucus room of the House of Representatives February 24, 1921, President William B. McKinley, Senator from Illinois, presiding. The following officers were elected for the ensuing year:

President, Senator William B. McKinley.

Vice-Presidents, Congressman Andrew J. Montague, Virginia.

Congressman Halvor Steenerson, Minnesota.

Congressman William A. Oldfield, Arkansas.

Treasurer, Congressman Adolph J. Saboth, Illinois.

Secretary, Congressman Henry G. Dupré, Louisiana.

Executive Secretary, Arthur Deerin Call, 613 Colorado Building, Washington, D. C.

Members of the Executive Committee:

Senator William B. McKinley, Illinois, *ex officio*, chairman.

Congressman Andrew J. Montague, Virginia.

Congressman Fred Britten, Illinois.

Congressman Theodore Burton, Ohio.

Congressman Henry Allen Cooper, Wisconsin.

Congressman William W. Rucker, Missouri.

Congressman William A. Oldfield, Arkansas.

Congressman Joseph T. Robinson, Arkansas.

Senator Thomas Sterling, South Dakota.

Congressman Henry W. Temple, Pennsylvania.

Congressman Halvor Steenerson, Minnesota.

Congressman James C. McLaughlin, Michigan.

There were expressions of regret at the continued illness of the efficient Executive Secretary, Dr. S. N. D. North, who was compelled recently to retire on account of his state of health, and hope was expressed that he might speedily recover.

The American Group of the Interparliamentary Union may expect to be called upon again to function very soon. The General Secretary of the Union, Christian L. Langé, writes from the headquarters of the Union at Geneva that he has just returned after upward of two months in Athens and in Rome. He reports that groups were reconstituted in each of those parliaments. He urges that during the coming special session of the American Congress everything should be done to extend the member-

ship of the American Group, especially since the Interparliamentary Council is to meet at Geneva on or about April 1, and still more especially because the Stockholm Conference of all the groups in the Union is to be held during August of the present year. It will be recalled that this conference was to have been held in Stockholm, upon the invitation of the Swedish Group, in August, 1914. The invitation of the Swedish parliamentarians having been renewed, Dr. Langé and his associates plan now for a successful resumption of the work of the Union. It is the hope of the management that many American members of the Union, Senators and Congressmen, will be present at the Nineteenth General Conference in Stockholm.

PRESIDENT HARDING'S INAUGURAL

We cite from the inaugural message of President Harding to his countrymen, delivered at the Capitol, March 4, those words which have to do directly with the foreign policy of the United States and with the international relations of the world.

MY COUNTRYMEN: When one surveys the world about him after the great storm, noting the marks of destruction and yet rejoicing in the ruggedness of the things which withstood it, if he is an American he breathes the clarified atmosphere with a strange mingling of regret and new hope. We have seen a world passion spend its fury, but we contemplate our Republic unshaken and hold our civilization secure. **Liberty**—liberty within the law—and civilization are inseparable, and though both were threatened we find them now secure, and there comes to Americans the profound assurance that our representative government is the highest expression and surest guaranty of both.

Standing in this presence, mindful of the solemnity of this occasion, feeling the emotions which no one may know until he senses the great weight of responsibility for himself, I must utter my belief in the Divine inspiration of the founding fathers. Surely there must have been God's intent in the making of this new world Republic. Ours is an organic law which had but one ambiguity, and we saw that effaced in a baptism of sacrifice and blood, with union maintaining the nation supreme and its concord inspiring. We have seen the world rivet its hopeful gaze on the great truths on which the founders wrought. We have civil, human, and religious liberty verified and glorified. In the beginning the old world scoffed at our experiment; today our foundations of political and social belief stand unshaken, a precious inheritance to ourselves, an inspiring example of freedom and civilization to all mankind. Let us express renewed and strengthened devotion, in grateful reverence for the immortal beginning, and utter our confidence in the supreme fulfillment.

Progress Proves Wisdom

The recorded progress of our Republic, materially and spiritually, in itself proves the wisdom of the inherited policy of non-involvement in old-world